

TWO OLDER "NEW" OLD MAPS OF THE NEWARK EARTHWORKS

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Research on the pioneer Presbyterian minister and antiquarian, John Pogue Campbell (1767-1814) has located the two earliest known maps of the Newark Earthworks (Figs. 1, 2). The originals of these maps are in the Daniel and Benjamin Drake papers, a part of the well known Lyman Draper Collection at the Wisconsin Historical Society, in Madison, Wisconsin. The maps are reproduced here with permission of the Society.

The earliest previously published map of the Newark Earthworks is one copied by Robert Walsh, Jr., in 1815, and published in the Autumn, 1992, issue of The Licking County Historical Society's *Quarterly* newsletter as a "new" old map of the Newark Earthworks (Lepper 1992). The original of the Walsh map, as Lepper explains in his brief article, remains lost, and our knowledge is limited to a photographic copy discovered by John Weaver several years ago in the Licking County Historical Society's museum. According to the legend accompanying the photograph, the copy was presented to the Newark Country Golf Club by Wallace H. Cathcart, who was director of the Western Reserve Historical Society from 1913 until his death in 1942. The original Walsh map (itself apparently a copy of an earlier map by an unknown hand) has not been found in the Western Reserve Historical Society's collections.

The Walsh map (Fig. 3) is of particular interest because of its close similarity to the more detailed of the two previously unpublished maps found in the Drake papers, herein referred to as the "Raccoon Creek" map (Fig. 2) because of the uncertainty of its creator and the idiosyncrasy of his spelling. A question of particular interest is whether this "Raccoon Creek" map was the original of Walsh's "Correct Copy." Although Lepper initially was uncertain "whether Walsh visited Newark in person to undertake a survey of the earthworks or if he merely copied the map of some unnamed early antiquarian," he subsequently determined that Walsh had opportunity to visit Newark during the summer of 1815, when he apparently made an extended trip to Kentucky, with intentions of returning home through Ohio and New York (Bradley T. Lepper, letter to Roger G. Kennedy, 28 September 1993; carbon copy to author).

Authorship and dating of the Campbell and Raccoon Creek maps remain complicated and somewhat tentative, but it is certain that both predate 1815. At the time of his death, Rev. Campbell was living near Chillicothe and had an unfinished manuscript on the antiquities of "the Western

Country." An opportunist by the name of Henry Frost obtained the manuscript from Campbell's widow and attempted to publish it as his own work. Frost's attempt at plagiarism was exposed before the work was published, and the manuscript presumably was returned to Mrs. Campbell, who had returned to live in Kentucky. It is believed that the existing remnant of the Campbell manuscript was very likely obtained by Daniel Drake while he was teaching at Transylvania College in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1817, though there is no documentary evidence to support this theory (Murphy 1985).

Unfortunately, the existing archaeological materials in the Drake papers quite probably derive from a number of sources, and while it is evident that the crude map on p. 78 of the Drake Collection (Fig. 1) is part of the Campbell manuscript, it is less certain that that is the case with the "Raccoon Creek map, on p. 95 (Fig. 2). Study of the handwriting is of little help, for while much of the manuscript appears to be in Campbell's hand, portions of it are not, and unquestionable examples of Henry Frost's handwriting are not available for comparison. Furthermore, it is evident that Campbell solicited information from various local informants for his work, and very possibly the more detailed map of the Newark Works was sent to him by someone living in the Newark area.

Although the more detailed Raccoon Creek map is not dated, internal evidence indicates that it was made prior to 1808, for the fortifications are described as lying "between the Raccoon & South fork of Licking creek, a branch of the Muskingum, in *Fairfield County, Ohio...*" [italics added]. As Licking County was not established until March 1, 1808, it is evident that the map is considerably older than the 1815 Walsh map.

The spelling of Raccoon Creek as "Raccoon" twice on the map shown in Figure 2 is strong evidence that the map was not drawn by Rev. Campbell himself, who spelled it "Racoon Fork," and it seems more likely that either he obtained it from a local informant in the vicinity of Newark or that it was independently acquired by Daniel or Benjamin Drake and inadvertently incorporated with the Campbell maps. In this regard it is considered significant that the account of the Newark earthworks in the Campbell manuscript, quoted below, is very generalized and makes no specific references that can be linked to the "Raccoon Creek" map.

Campbell writes:

"Between Rac[c]oon Fork, and South

Licking, a short distance above Newark, Licking County, there are ancient works of considerable magnitude. Immediately on entering the forks, we pass through a variety of ancient works, all of which were evidently connected. These works appear to have been projected with much ingenuity, and are highly military in their form and relative positions. Some are bold and majestic monuments, though centuries with a thousand changes have rolled over them. The large *Circular Fort*, with its walls formed by throwing the work outward, is an amazing projection. From the bottom of the Fosse to the top of the Parapet, it is in most places eighteen or twenty feet, and near the Eastern and Southern extremity of the parallel walls to which it is appended, the elevation cannot be less than twenty five or thirty feet.

"Commencing near the *Circular Fort*, two *walled passes* or ways, continue on a considerable distance, until they terminate at a large *octagon Fort*. These communications run direct, but verge towards each other, and were designed for a safe passage between the Forts, as it may be seen on the map.

"The *Octagon* is far from being imperfect as such, and is much distinguished by an ingenious covered way, which appears to have been a secure communication with the Creek towards which it points.

"The *Oblong Fort*, or *Parallelogram*, is regular in regard to the sides and [sic] angles and is on the East side of the other works. The *Circular Fort* has but one gate, and that is East, and toward the oblong Fort.

"Upon these works near Newark, we remark.

"1. In taking a general view of them as containing a finished *Circle*, a regular *Oblong*, and an *Octagon* of singular construction, will any one deny but that there is here a strong indication of art and taste. These people who constructed these works were no doubt in a state of constant hostility, and perhaps, at the time or moment of erecting these works, they were subject to an immediate offensive attack or to the violence of offensive war. This may be asserted in consideration of the Fosse *within* the *Circular Fort*, the *walled passes* or *communications*, and the *covered way* attached to the *Octagonal Fort*. Notwithstanding the fort of this people's being thus exposed to the violence of the foe, and engaged in a state of actual hostility, we observe how *judiciously* the works were constructed, and the *economy* that was thus mani-

fested in respect to *time* and *labour*. This was not & could not be the result of untutored reason, or a display of native energy and skill. The forms of these forts generally were not the result of necessity, but *choice*, and could not have been accomplished by a *selftaught* or an *untaught people*.

"II. As we have contemplated the covered way with some attention and considered it a safe communication with the Creek for a supply of water, we likewise naturally view it as indicative of danger at that point of the Fort. It is true, experience might have convinced the people of the necessity of some precaution against the enemy, but experience it is to be remembered never *originates first principles*, and can do no more than make a wise improvement of elementary knowledge. The most powerful reasoner in the human family will not be able to persuade a candid man of sense to believe, that these works were the effect of *strong native powers*, or the *wonderful sagacity of an untutored race*."

As vague as Campbell's description is, it contains at least one major inaccuracy that is not incorporated in either the Rackoon Creek or the Walsh maps: neither of the extended parallel ways leads directly to the Fairgrounds Circle, as Campbell's crude map suggests.

It is interesting that Campbell was aware of the rectangular enclosure now known as the Wright Works, for this is not indicated on the Rackoon Creek map; however, Campbell indicates an opening on each of the four sides, when it appears that there was not one on the east or southeast side, and he draws a rectangle rather than a square. Campbell's directions are also somewhat off, as the gateway to the Fairgrounds Circle, while it does open toward the Wright Works, is oriented northeast rather than east. Curiously, in view of the absence of any indication of the Wright rectangular enclosure on the Rackoon Creek map, both it and Campbell's map indicate the small circular enclosure lying just west of the Wright enclosure, along the southern edge of the northern of the two major parallel ways.

Campbell does not actually provide much in the way of measurements, merely noting the height of the Fairgrounds Circle. The anonymous "Rackoon Creek" map, on the other hand, does provide some data but is generally not as accurate as Atwater's later (1820) map. In some cases the differences are slight, the Rackoon Creek map estimating 20 acres for the size of the "Fairgrounds Circle," (now Moundbuilders' Park), while Squier and Davis estimate it as enclosing 30 acres; Atwater, who estimated the area as "about twenty-six acres," was, as it turns out, closest to the truth, for Thomas (1889: 13) found the circle to contain slightly over 26 acres. As for the circle connected to the Octagonal Enclosure, the "Rackoon Creek" map gives an area of 15 acres, less accurate than Squier and Davis' estimate of 20 acres (the cor-

rect amount according to Thomas) or Atwater's estimate of 22 acres. Finally, the octagonal enclosure encompasses an area of approximately 41 acres, close to Atwater's determination of "about 40 acres," but far from the Rackoon Creek map's estimate of 25 acres and Squier and Davis' estimate of 50 acres.

Remarkable divergences occur in the estimated size of the pyramidal mounds lying within the octagonal enclosure. The Rackoon Creek map records them as 30 by 60 feet in size, with the gateways in the octagon being 40 feet wide. Atwater states that the gateways are about fifteen feet in width and the mounds "about four feet longer than the gateway is in width." Squier and Davis record them as 80 by 100 feet and five feet high. Campbell and Squier and Davis agree that the connecting way leading to the circle to the west is 60 feet wide but disagree as to the length, 300 feet according to Squier and Davis, 240 feet according to the Rackoon Creek map. Thomas (1889: 18) measured the gateways as varying from 12 to 60 feet, but provides no data on the mounds or connecting way.

Campbell and Atwater agree about the military nature of these enclosures and also share the belief that the prehistoric mounds and earthworks of the Ohio Valley were built by a race distinct from the American Indian. They, of course, erred in both respects, but it was a common misinterpretation throughout the 19th Century.

There remains the intriguing question of whether the Rackoon Creek map is the original which Robert Walsh copied in 1815. The basic similarity of the two maps is striking. It will be noted that Walsh indicates only seven small mounds along the interior perimeter of the octagon, instead of eight, and he erroneously labels the nearby creek *North Fork* instead of the *South Fork*; but these could easily be simple errors in copying. Identical errors shared by the two maps, such as the orientation of the opening in the Great Circle and placement of the small circle southwest of the octagon, seem more telling. On the other hand, there are sufficient discrepancies in the areal dimensions and heights given on the two maps to suggest that the one is not simply a "correct" copy of the other. For example, the Rackoon Creek map gives the area of the Great Circle as 20 acres with walls 20 feet high; the Walsh map—although the text of the published map is very difficult to read—appears to give an area of 25 acres and the walls varying from 10 to 30 feet in height; similarly, the area enclosed by the octagon is indicated to be 20 [?] acres by Walsh and as 25 acres on the "Rackoon Creek" map. Height of the walls of the octagon appear to be given as 7 and 9 feet, by the respective maps, though, again, the only reproduction available of the Walsh map leaves much to be desired in terms of legibility. Because of such minor but definite discrepancies, it is concluded that the Walsh map is not simply a copy of the earlier Rackoon Creek map.

A feature of some potential use in dating these early maps of the Newark works is the presence of a lake or pond in the area between the two parallel walls. Squier and Davis (1848: 71) aver that this was a large natural pond of more than 100 acres in extent, created by the New Madrid earthquake of 1811. There is no reason to doubt this account of the origin of the lake, which had been drained by the time Squier and Davis visited Newark. Atwater (1820) describes the pond as covering from 150 to 200 acres and notes that it "was a few years since entirely dry." The 1808 Rackoon Creek map describes the area simply as "Prairie of about 100 acres, but Walsh, in 1815, refers to it as a prairie containing a lake of about 20 acres. Thus references to this lake are consistent with the dates attributed to these three early maps.

In summary, it seems evident that the Campbell map titled "Fort near Newark" was drawn by Rev. John Pogue Campbell sometime between 1808 and his death in 1814 and was a part of his unpublished manuscript on the Antiquities of the Western Country. The "Rackoon Creek" map currently included with the Campbell maps in the Drake collection just as clearly dates prior to 1808 but very likely was drawn by someone other than Campbell and may not even have been seen by Campbell but later incorporated with his maps by Daniel or Benjamin Drake. Disregarding other evidence, such as differences in handwriting, the known age of the map alone makes it improbable that it was produced by either Daniel Drake (1785-1852) or his younger brother, Benjamin (1795-1841). The 1815 Robert Walsh map, though bearing some striking similarities to the Rackoon Creek map, remains too dissimilar in details to permit the assumption that it is simply a copy of the earlier map. However crudely drawn and whatever the ultimate provenance of the Campbell and Rackoon Creek maps may prove to be, these two maps, so long ignored, are of considerable interest as the earliest known representations of the Newark Earthworks.

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Fort near Newark— Fig.

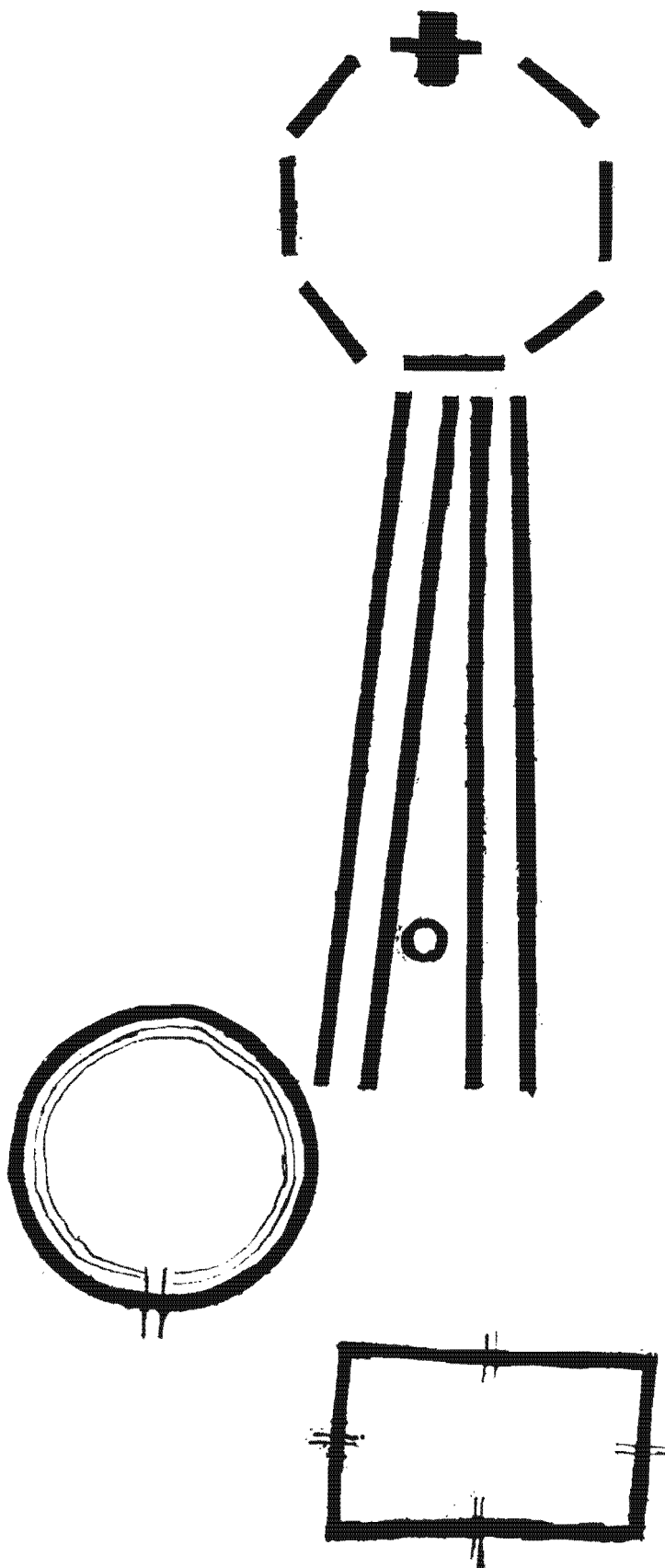


Figure 1. (Murphy) "Fort near Newark— Fig. [4]." To accompany Campbell's work on the Antiquities of the Western States. Original in the Draper Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

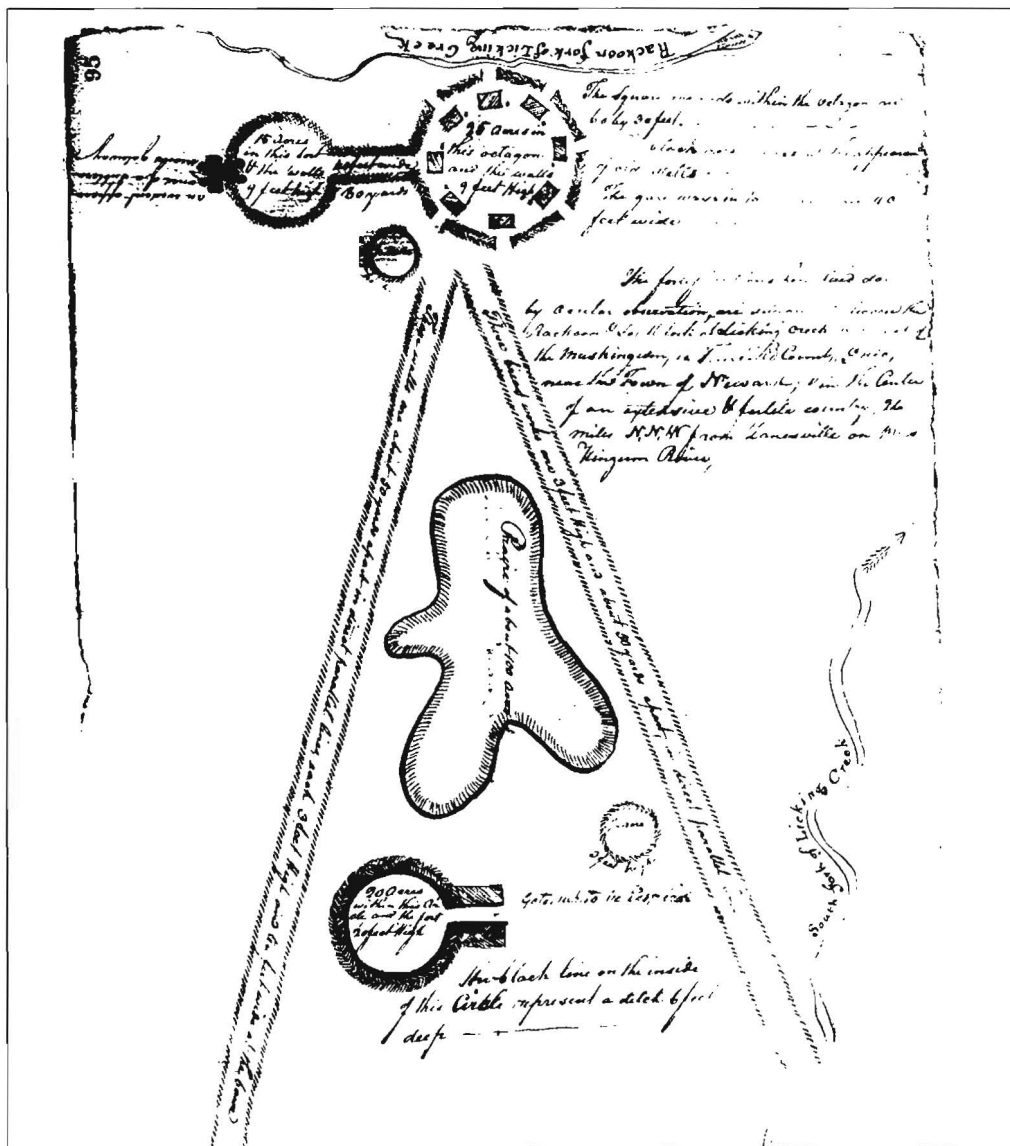


Figure 2. (Murphy) The "Rackoon Creek" map. Original in the Daniel and Benjamin Drake Papers, Draper Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. Captions read as follows: "The Square inside within the octagon are 60 by 30 feet. The black dots present the appearance of old walls. The gate ways in the octagon are 40 feet wide. 25 acres in this octagon and the walls 9 feet high. 15 acres in this fort [circular fort west of octagon] & the walls 9 feet high. [Passage way connecting the octagon and circle] 40 feet wide [and] 80 yards [long]. The fortifications here laid down by ocular observation are situated between the Rackoon & South Fork of Licking creek, a branch of the Muskingum, in Fairfield County, Ohio, near the Town of Newark, in the Center of an extensive & fertile country, 26 miles NNW from Zanesville on Muskingum River. An evident appearance of a subterraneous gateway [Orator's Mound]. These breast works are 3 feet High and about 50 yards apart in direct parallel lines. These walls are about 50 yards apart in direct parallel lines, each 3 feet high and ten feet wide at the base. 20 acres within this circle [Great Circle] and the fort 20 feet high. The black line on the inside of this Circle represents a ditch 6 feet deep. Prairie of about 100 acres."

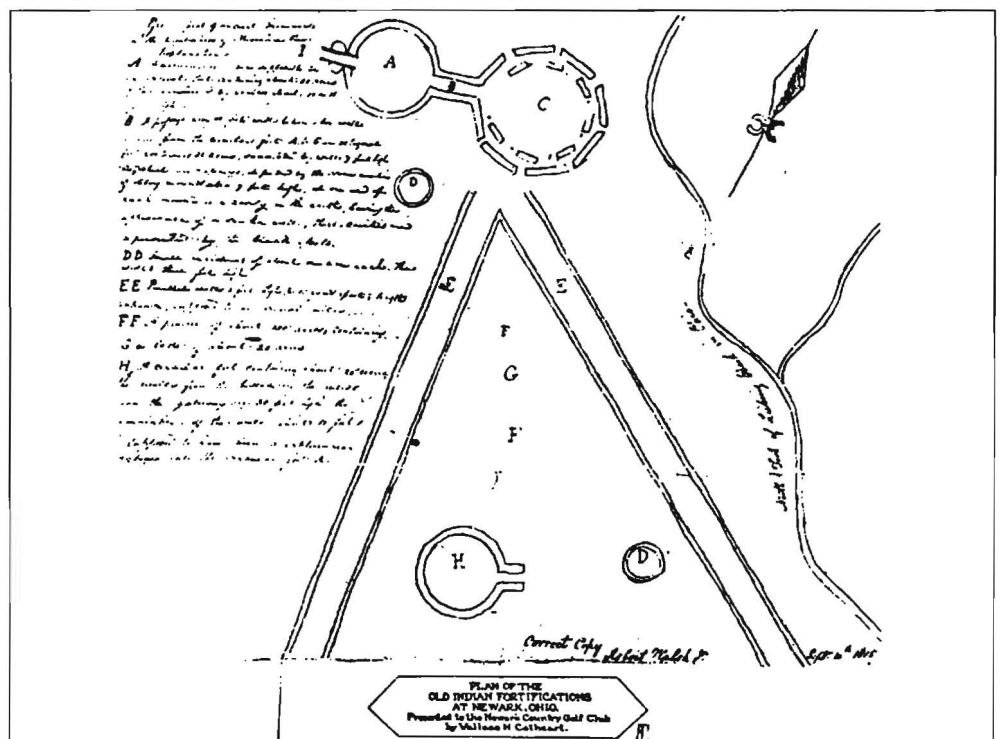


Figure 3. (Murphy) John Walsh, Jr.'s 1815 "Correct Copy" of an early map of the Newark Earthworks. Reproduced from the Licking County Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. 2, no. 3.